

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

No. 915

January 8, 1954

FOURPENCE (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

REARMAMENT versus DEVELOPMENT

Page six

CIVIL DEFENCE SCANDAL

Assume 30,000 deaths

Civil Defence schemes are based on what has been called "the doughnut plan." This assumes an area of complete devastation over a certain radius, shown in the photograph as a light ring on the map of North London. Medical help, fire control and rescue work would only be effective in the area outside the centre of the "doughnut." This picture was taken during the course of a tactical CD exercise in London last year.



Plans in a hopeless mess

IT is the conventional thing to do to describe what we spend every year on the Army, Navy and Air Force as Defence Expenditure. Why, it is difficult to know. Especially after the recently published Report from the Select Committee on Estimates which has been examining Civil Defence (HM Stationery Office, 12s. 6d.).

From this Report it is obvious that the arrangements for the defence of the civil population are in a hopeless mess.

What is more, it is now quite clear that any adequate attempt to protect us in the event of atomic attack would cost an enormous amount of money, impossible to find while we spend £1,500,000,000 a year for the armed forces.

I pointed this out when the Civil Defence Estimates were under consideration and got no satisfactory answers to my questions.

Now the Select Committee have been putting similar questions to the higher civil service officials concerned with Civil Defence Expenditure, and they have not been able to

By Emrys Hughes, MP

provide very satisfactory answers either. The result is this Report, which should make the British public sit up, unless they are thoroughly bored with the whole subject.

What atom bombing means

But this Report raises important issues to which Parliament should direct its attention. In Paragraph 9 of the Report we read:

"It is clear from information already made public and summarised by the Home Office that the new problems presented to Civil Defence by atomic bombardment are due not only to the unprecedented scale on which damage and casualties can occur but also to the complexity of the four effects—blast, heat, flash, gamma radiation and residual radioactivity—which accompany the explosion.

"Blast and heat flash produce widespread damage to buildings and plant and it is against these effects that most Civil Defence preparation is being undertaken.

"There may well be an area of some three or four square miles of severe devastation and a totally damaged area which may cover over ten or twenty square miles.

"Within the area of severe devastation, streets would be blocked with debris and except along wide roads or through parks or other open spaces it might be difficult or impossible for vehicles to reach any point within a mile of the centre of devastation.

"Heat flash is also a potent fire-raiser. It has been estimated that a bomb bursting over Central London would produce some 1,200 fires needing the attention of a fire brigade, especially in the zone to which access is made difficult by debris."

Londoners can work out for themselves what an atom bomb on Trafalgar Square would mean.

But other industrial cities and towns in the

on back page

'To-morrow's citizens,' discussing Africa, show that BRITAIN'S YOUTH IS SOUND ON RACE ISSUES

Peace News Reporters

UNDER fire from "Tomorrow's Citizens" a former Colonial official lost his temper with 2,000 teen-age secondary school children last week.

Mr. Kenneth Bradley, Director of the Imperial Institute, and formerly of the Colonial Service in the Gold Coast, told his young audience at the Council for Education in World Citizenship, "Challenge of Africa" Conference, he was very angry.

One after the other, youngsters came up to the microphone to ask searching, criticising questions on British Colonial policy.

Peter Wafferman, of Regent St. Polytechnic, pooh-poohed Mr. Bradley's talk of democracy in Central Africa when he pointed out that only 444 of the six million Africans were allowed to vote in the Federal Elections.

From Felixstowe came allegations of "Imperialist strongholds by the British and French over Africans."

The Africans themselves did not want to go too quickly, said Mr. Bradley.

He got really annoyed when 16-year-old Andrew Seth, of the Royal Academic Institute of Belfast, asked him his attitude on "Sir Alfred Savage's bigoted, puppet administration in British Guiana."

"Sir Alfred Savage is a life-long friend of mine," Mr. Bradley said crossly.

When he demanded chapter and verse from questioner Jane Powell, of Bristol, he got "What she says is quite right" shouted at him from a West African at the back of the hall.

Jane Powell had asked how Mr. Bradley could talk about self-government for the Africans in West Africa when the Governor could declare any law passed if moved by one member, even though all other members were against it.

In the end, Mr. Bradley shouted at his audience, "I am getting a little shocked. If you young people, through your spokesmen this morning, think that the British Empire is a carrier of exploitation, imperialism and oppression, it is high time you learnt a great deal more about it at your schools."

THE GOLD COAST

On Friday, Dr. G. B. Jeffery, Director of the London Institute of Education, told his audience that for all practical purposes, self-government already existed in the Gold Coast.

It was true, he agreed, that the Governor retained certain reserve powers, but these were

seldom if ever used. Africans in the Gold Coast elected their own parliament, and their own ministers; they held influential posts in the civil service; even the British technicians, teachers and missionaries were rapidly being replaced by Africans. There was no colour bar.

In the Gold Coast all children of the relevant age received education, and also some older children. "Methods had to be introduced which should have shocked me as an educationalist," he said, "but on the contrary I was filled with admiration at the great educational advances carried out, and at their courage in overcoming formidable difficulties and mitigating risks."

"Much has undoubtedly been done by our ancestors for which we can feel little pride," continued the speaker, "but here in West Africa is something about which a temperate measure of national pride is justifiable."

It was the stated policy of the British Government to grant freedom and self-government to her subject peoples; no one questioned the wisdom of this, only the rate of progress.

UN SHOULD INVESTIGATE

Among the many conclusions reached by the discussion groups which studied political, social, economic, religious, cultural and racial problems in relation to Africa were the following:

1. Race relations in South Africa was a question not for the United Kingdom but for the United Nations, and a special mission should be set to study the problem on the spot;
2. There should be equal educational opportunity for all since it appeared that the educational advance of the African had lagged behind his political awareness;
3. Racial prejudice and the colour bar were opposed to Christianity; there was no biological reason for the prejudice against mixed marriage.

Loud applause greeted the remark that the white man's fear might well be due to a feeling of guilt.

(A report of the "Brains Trust" will appear next week.)

'Frontier Gandhi' freed

THE man who came to be known as the "Frontier Gandhi," Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, is to be released after more than five years in a Pakistan prison. Since joining the Indian independence movement in the 1920's he has been in gaol for political reasons probably more frequently than any other Indian or Pakistani.

A follower of Mahatma Gandhi, he founded the Servants of God movement and was elected president of the Congress Party in his Northwest Frontier Province. After the creation of Pakistan, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan was arrested in 1948 and was detained under a safety ordinance. He is now 72.

Appeals for his release were made by friends all over the world. Pacifists in England interviewed Pakistani representatives and letters were sent to the Government and the United Nations.

News of the release came in a surprise announcement by the Chief Minister that 45 political prisoners were to be set free. "No one's liberty should be curtailed on political grounds unless it is absolutely in the interest of the security of the State," he said.

Arms breed arms

Russia has told Afghanistan that she would feel compelled to use Afghan airfields if Pakistan entered an arms pact with America. India's Deputy Defence Minister, Sar Surjit Singh Majithia, said on January 5.

Peace News is airborne

WITH this issue Peace News joins *TK Times*, the *Economist* and the *New Statesman* among the select company of British periodicals publishing Air Mail Editions.

The beginning is a modest one: 500 copies printed on special air-weight paper, but it opens great and exciting possibilities for our future as an international newspaper, and for the closer co-ordination of peace thought and action throughout the world.

For America . . .

Just seven months ago, Russell Johnson, of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) undertook to set up a US Sales and Distribution Office for Peace News in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to provide simultaneous distribution in Britain and the USA. High air freight charges doubled the subscription rate, yet Russell Johnson and his energetic helpers now sell nearly 500 copies a week. Peace News is advertised in *The Nation* and *The Progressive* and the sales drive has the generous backing of American Quakers, the American Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters League.

In 1954 the campaign for new American readers will go ahead with redoubled vigour. For the new Air Express edition makes possible a cut of one-third in the subscription rate.

At four dollars a year, Peace News hits the popular price level of US publications—and will reach American readers just as quickly.

American readers, please note:

1. You are recommended to place your orders for Peace News with our US office (see page three, column four) and instruct the London office to transfer your subscription balances.
2. For 75 cents you can obtain 12 copies of Peace News, post free, for distribution to your friends and fellow workers; or
3. For 50 cents you can give them a two months trial subscription. Send a list of ten names and addresses of your friends together with a \$5 bill to Russell Johnson at Cambridge, Mass. He will do the rest.

. . . and the world

But this good news is not exclusive to our friends in America.

Air Mail subscription rates to all countries are now substantially reduced (see page five), and bulk rates offer a still greater saving.

Thus 12 copies flown to India or any part of Africa will cost 6s. 3d. each week, or to Australia and New Zealand 7s.

Topical world news of peace, current comment on international affairs, facts and information, and over all, the week-by-week encouragement of a world-wide fellowship with co-workers in other lands are now within the reach of pacifists everywhere.

The Air Express edition of Peace News is available to propagate pacifism in every country where English can be understood (and that means every country!).

Here, then, is the really big chance for overseas readers to make Peace News their own newspaper, to use its columns for their announcements and news, to develop its sale on a big scale, to use it to the utmost as a force for peace and reconciliation.

We await, eagerly and hopefully, the big response which we believe our friends overseas will make.

Denver group interview another Senator

THE group of anti-militarists in Denver, Colo., USA, has been active again interviewing another Senator, Eugene D. Millikin. The Senator was asked for his views on outstanding issues of war and peace and the group urged support of disarmament and constructive endeavours towards a sound peace. Liberalisation of immigration and naturalisation laws was also pressed.

Earlier last year the Denver group met other American legislators to put the case for pacifist foreign and domestic policies for the US.

Kenya African leader was there

JOSEPH MURUMBIA, Secretary of the Kenya African Union (now proscribed), joined last Saturday's poster parade through Westminster and the West End of London to demand a new colonial policy.

In the morning the paraders were in the vicinity of the Colonial Office. The afternoon parade proceeded along Whitehall, Regent Street, Oxford Street, Park Lane, Grosvenor Gardens and Victoria Street.

Another parade on January 16, is announced in the Diary on page five.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
STAmford Hill 2262 (three lines)

January 8, 1954

HUBRIS

HUBRIS is the deadly sin that signifies an insolent and blind pride. It is deadly because it ceases to be perceived by those who are afflicted by it.

It is very strongly manifest today in the attitude of the peoples of the West who boast of the fact that they are democracies to the indigenous peoples of the colonial territories.

Every day one can find instances of it in Ministerial utterances and newspaper articles.

We can see it in the attitude of official France to the peoples of Northern Africa.

We can see it in the attitude of the British Colonial Office whenever any of the interminable succession of crises develops. We do not mean, of course, the Colonial Office under Conservative direction. The attitude of Labour is essentially the same and is dominated by an equally blind pride.

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We may take as an example the most recent case that has been in the news: our dealings with the Baganda.

We protest our good intentions. We seek the welfare of the people of Buganda, and it is we and not they who know where their welfare lies. They protest, and in the name of the democratic principles at which they are ultimately to arrive under our tutelage we remove their principal spokesman, and we send him into exile.

They ask for him back, and he concedes all the points that brought about his removal. With an insolence that adds a sense of wounding humiliation to the grievance already felt we say "The incident is closed so far as the Colonial Office is concerned."

We do this we tell them, and—the more deadly aspect—we tell ourselves, because their attitude stands in the way of progress. We even have the spectacle of that organ of advanced thought, the Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, without any sense of incongruity, reading the Kabaka a lecture in its leading article on the enormity of standing in the way of progress.

It is we who know what is progress, we Conservatives, Liberals, Labourites and Communists. Its immediate name in Africa is Federation. It is coming together in bigger and bigger aggregations so that we may provide the basis for bigger and better planning.

That is the way we have arranged things, we advanced peoples of the earth, and observe the pinnacle of happiness to which we have attained: a splendid array of neuroses for our people as individuals, and for the world the question dominating all our lives, whether what we are planning will be here at all when another decade has passed over our heads.

We find ourselves incapable of achieving the moral adjustments that will ensure that our scientific and technical development shall not bring about our destruction; we have nevertheless no doubt about our moral right to bring these things to the native Africans.

★

In saying these things Peace News is not idealising the native African. We do not assume that, left to himself, he would not be capable of actions and of producing conditions that we should regard as shocking.

What we demur to is the assumption that the inhabitants of the fully civilised areas of the earth are entitled to measure the conduct of the native African against some standard of near-perfection.

We do not feel that what we have made of Europe in the last 40 years gives us any right to make such an assumption.

We should ask ourselves, if we desire to see the Africans better men and women than they are, whether it would be an improvement if they were to shed their vices and cruelties at the expense of taking over the vices and cruelties that we know have arisen out of the conditions of civilised Europe and America.

If we are aware that we cannot honestly and reasonably desire such a development we should do better to turn our near-perfection standards to ourselves; and try the experiment of leaving other people to manage their own affairs and pursue their own ideals—accepting that they will do things differently from the way in which we do them, that they will make errors that we should not have made, but expecting at the same time that they will avoid some of the monstrous errors that we have made and cannot find a way to undo.

We should be ready to come to them with help when they want and ask us to do so; but we should also be ready to accept the different kind of help they may be able to give us. If they are left to do things in their own way this may be quite a lot.

The supreme need for the West today is that it should learn humility.

What next in France . . .

IT is a custom, if not a constitutional necessity, for the French Prime Minister to offer his resignation when a new President takes office.

Normally this is purely formal and only results in the Prime Minister continuing in office with the approval of the new President.

On this occasion, however, the complexity of the political situation in France and the growing uneasiness of some members of the present coalition, make a difference.

Even if the new President, M. Coty, should not accept a formal resignation, M. Laniel, who is now head of what is no more than a caretaker government, with no power to take effective decisions, may persist in his resignation.

Indeed, many believe that he will not wait until January 17 when M. Coty takes office as President, but will resign as soon as the budget is out of the way, so that France may possibly be in the throes of another political crisis before this edition of Peace News appears.

The alternative is that the Prime Minister may seek a special debate on foreign affairs in the hope of obtaining a virtual vote of confidence before the Berlin conference, due to meet on January 25.

It is possible that the situation in France influenced the Soviet Government in their desire to postpone the Berlin meeting. Should M. Laniel persist in resigning or fail to receive a vote of confidence, the Foreign Ministers may have to postpone their meeting still further, if France is to be adequately represented.

Alternatively, the widespread desire in France to explore the possibility of this new official contact with the Russians, in the hope that one result might somehow be the postponement of West German rearmament, might result in the French Parliament preferring to send M. Bidault to Berlin rather than delay matters still further. One thing is certain: no one representing France at the Berlin Conference can back America or Britain in any insistence on a European Army which will contain a proportion of soldiers from W. Germany.

... and Indo-China?

THE most recent events in Indo-China have added further confusion to the chaotic situation in France.

Though no government has had the courage (and good sense) to attempt to bring the war to an end by negotiation, even when offers have come from the other side, it must be crystal clear that the unpopular colonial war cannot end in a French victory.

The sooner a French Government is found which will open negotiations, as the veteran statesman and President of the Assembly, M. Herriot, has urged, the sooner will it be in a position, by stopping the continued and tragic wastage of men and money, to take steps to bring some semblance of order into French domestic affairs.

Adenauer's hopes . . .

DR. ADENAUER, Time magazine's "Man of the Year," has told his party that he

BEHIND THE NEWS

will be deeply disappointed if 1954 does not bring the ratification of the European Defence Community and the Bonn Conventions.

Welcoming the Berlin Conference, he says that there is no contradiction between a four-power meeting, German reunification and a European Army Pact whose aim was to make war among the European nations for ever impossible.

The truth is that EDC and Bonn agreements do not represent such a pact and are more likely to increase than to remove the occasions of war.

If Dr. Adenauer really desires German independence in a world at peace he must realise that to tie Western Germany up with Britain and America, let alone to propose the integration of a united Germany into the Western defence system, will lead to neither independence for Germany nor peace for Europe.

Who would have thought a few short years ago that Britain and America would be consulting the head of a W. German Government as they are doing today.

Consultation may be all very well but the reason for it is that Britain and America want Adenauer's help in forcing through a policy which spells danger if not disaster.

If Germany is to be free to be German the views of Eastern Germany cannot be disregarded nor must Dr. Adenauer's policy be allowed to dominate or wreck the Berlin Conference.

A neutral and disarmed but united Germany remains the one chance of a peaceful settlement.

... and Rhee's

THE announcement by President Eisenhower that two US divisions would be removed from Korea cannot, unfortunately, be interpreted as any indication that the US Government are not prepared to resume the fighting there if they believe it necessary.

The removal was indeed, accompanied by a veiled threat of atomic warfare, and it is only the fact that new weapons will give America a greater striking power which enabled the President to pay such lip service to the idea of "bringing the boys home."

In the meantime, Syngman Rhee has given further indication of how he would herald in the New Year, when he advocated that the UN should stop talking and resume the fighting.

While we hope and believe that he has been told by America that they are not prepared to be rushed into an extended war, it is obvious that he still aims at unifying Korea under his control by force if necessary.

Nehru and U.S. aid to Pakistan

against India in relation to Kashmir.

But, as aforesaid, then what? In Kashmir and on its borders India also has these armed forces which in relations between sovereign nations determine, as Nehru emphasises, the relationship of forces. Except under certain conditions where in his opinion it would not have a bearing on the relationship of forces he refuses to withdraw them. The effort to strengthen the Indian armed forces also goes on.

I am sure the Indian Government contends that this is not done in order to affect the situation regarding Kashmir. I suspect that the Pakistani leaders also claim that there are valid reasons for improving Pakistan's defence position and that they do not wish to have this affect the Kashmir settlement. In fact, they have said so.

Suffice it, for the present, to observe that if a government, as Rajendra Prasad put it, "behaves much as governments do," it will run into precisely such problems of power interpreted in military terms, at every crucial

LETTER FROM U.S.A. By A. J. Muste

moment. Like it or not, it will be held to the rules of that game if it stays in the game.

The second and more important factor in the thinking of Nehru and the leaders of Pakistan has to do with the relations with Communist Russia and China.

If what amounts to a US base, even though no American troops are actually on hand, is set up in Pakistan, Nehru says this will infringe upon "the area of peace" in the Orient, by which he means nations which are neutral in the cold war and determined to take no part in a US-Russian war if it should come.

He sees in this "third group," as he recently called it, the hope of the world.

On another occasion he spoke of an "honest broker" being needed to bring the two great powers together for a suitable bargain and indicated that he saw himself and/or the "third group" in this role. When the US comes into neighbouring Pakistan with military aid, he recalls how in the past Western nations brought a few soldiers, then more, into the Orient and envisages a possible revival of colonialism.

I do not like to speak critically of one who in many ways towers above the politicians of the age, but I think it is a fact—I have heard him say so in so many words—that Nehru wishes to practise Gandhi's precepts but believes that he can do so only in part and

The time has come for the United States to give the clearest warning to Rhee about any attempt to make common cause with Chiang Kai-shek, and definite assurances to UN, China and North Korea that they will keep an effective control on his actions even if they cannot stop his provocative speeches.

Flash point

THE hopes of the achievement of a peaceful settlement in Korea must not blind us to the fact that on January 22, a new danger point will be reached.

On that date (by which it was originally hoped the political conference would have ended) the neutral commission will no longer have the legal power to hold men as prisoners of war.

In fact, the Indian guardians will still have some 20,000 prisoners in their care. They have indicated that they will not use force to retain them except in the most unlikely event of the Neutral Commission *unanimously* recommending it. In any case, we have to face the fact that unless all concerned set about solving the difficulty there may be a resumption of the killing in Korea.

The American attempt to change the accepted principle of the automatic repatriation of POWs was beset with difficulties from the first, and there remains the fact that the release of 20,000 prisoners into South Korea would be a bitter pill for the Communists to swallow.

Nor has the American insistence that Russia must attend the political conference as an ally of China and North Korea and not as a neutral, helped to solve other difficulties by making possible a meeting of the political conference.

It would be best now if the decisions were not left to the UN team on the spot (which virtually means to America), but if the UN Assembly were to be convened at once. Only they can accept the responsibility of giving fresh instructions.

One solution they could suggest would be a Five-Power Conference with the addition of representatives of North and South Korea, India and Pakistan, to discuss a general settlement in the Far East—with the proviso that they should first confine themselves to securing peace in Korea.

Greetings from Russia

ONE does not look for solid food in the writings of columnists like William Hickey of the Daily Express. They can provide an indication however of the trivialities upon which there may be conjectures that fit in with the Editorial "line."

William Hickey has received one of the 1953 Russian Greeting cards—we had one too, sent from a reader in Moscow—and immediately tells the four million readers of the Daily Express: "I think it can be taken as another sign of relaxation of the old iron Communist rule."

We had one two years ago, however, when a certain Mr. Stalin was head of the Russian state.

that, as a last resort, he and his Government must depend upon military force for "defence."

Accordingly the debate between him and the leaders of Pakistan, and Eisenhower-Dulles, is not one in which he stands on the principle of non-violence. He even lets it be known that if Pakistan accepts US military aid, India may have to turn to Russia for such aid.

He does not contend that the Communist bloc has not formidable military forces—determinants of the "relationship of forces," as we have seen. He has himself made protests over certain Chinese troop movements in Tibet and has made dispositions of Indian troops on India's northern borders to secure the defence position. He knows, to look for a moment in another direction, that Russian and Chinese aid went to North Korea, that Chinese if not Russian aid flows into Indo-China. These actions also have their bearing on "the area of peace" in the Orient and also suggest the danger of imperialism. It is a weakness, I think, of Nehru's position that he has not reacted to them as he reacts to the suggestion of US aid to Pakistan.

What it comes down to, as far as I can see, is that Nehru knows that India desperately needs peace, and that Russia and China are potential and formidable threats. He thinks that India's best hope is not to provoke them, and they would be provoked if Pakistan accepted US aid.

On what terms

But suppose Pakistan thinks that Nehru indulges in wishful thinking when he assumes he can play the "honest broker" in this realm of life unless he commands considerable military power? Nehru has already in effect admitted that this is so, because he thinks the "third group" would have a good deal of such power in time.

Under present technological conditions, where would they get modern equipment if not from one or other (or both?) of the big powers? And on what terms would the US or Russia give such aid?

Moreover, does Nehru believe that given the Arab-Israel rift, the Pakistan-India clash, etc., an Asian-Arab bloc able to command considerable forces can be built up?

It is surely not conceivable unless he is prepared to make substantial concessions to—in effect enter into an alliance with—Pakistan and other Arab nations. But this would mean building the kind of power which, on the one hand, he wishes to avoid lest it provoke Russia and China, and on the other hand, will not relinquish.

SHIRLEY CATLIN TO CONTEST HARWICH

THE award of a peerage to Sir Stanley Holmes means a by-election at Harwich (Essex) where Shirley Catlin, daughter of Vera Brittain, is Labour candidate.

At 23 years 5 months, she is the youngest woman candidate to fight a by-election.

Labour agent for the Harwich Division is a well known pacifist, Joe Watson, former foundry worker, now with the Fratting Hall farming community.

A correspondent writes:

I don't think Shirley calls herself a pacifist—many young people nowadays are resistant to labels; but she was one of the founders of the recently-formed peace society at Oxford University as well as the first woman Chairman of the University Labour Club.

Now a journalist, she won an Open History Scholarship at Somerville College and was there 1948-51.

She hasn't a hope at Harwich—a 7,925 Tory majority in 1951—but she might reduce this if local Labour enthusiasts, Labour pacifists among them, turn up in force to support her.

Father George Norton

THE untimely death of Father George Norton, who was drowned while bathing at Durban, South Africa, on December 5, is a sad blow to the cause of African freedom and harmonious race relations in Africa.

George Norton was a small gay man with something of Dick Sheppard and something of Chesterton's Father Brown. Like Dick Sheppard he was ardent and gregarious and like Father Brown he had an insatiable curiosity about people and things. He was interested in every facet of man's activities and saw in all of them a way of glorifying his Father.

George was a good fighter; a pacifist who preferred to be called a passive-resister and a socialist who saw socialism, pacifism and Christianity as a fighting and revolutionary doctrine of love and liberty.

He had been eight years a missionary with the Zulus and understood and shared their love of beauty, colour and laughter. He tried in his enthusiastic way to teach the African farm workers the rudiments of trade unionism to the disgust of the white employers!

On leave in London he went to Paris to depose for Michael Scott (who was delayed in Africa) at the United Nations at the beginning of Scott's now famous advocacy of the Hereros. Back in England he travelled all over the country drawing the attention of Church and political people to the evils of the Malan regime. He gathered about him a host of friends who missed him greatly when he left to take up his work in Africa again at the beginning of this year.

At the time of his death he had been a Missionary for two months to a "coloured" community in Durban.

George with all his zest for living has left a world that so much needed him, but to those who were fortunate enough to call him friend, his loving personality and wisdom will be an inspiration in the struggles which lie ahead.

AUDREY JUPP.

VERY NEARLY THERE



AS I was leaving the office on Christmas Eve, the postman brought three letters.

One from two sisters, aged 10 and 9, who sent £1. each: another from a British Railways guard, enclosing his recent rise in pay for two and a half weeks. The third brought £100 from a generous friend who has helped us substantially before. Further gifts of varying amounts have come in from many others, including one of £16, which, you may remember, was the balance I estimated we should still require if we got £250 by Christmas Day. So I am thrilled to be able to tell you that today the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund stands at £894.

Only £6 more to make it possible for us to claim that final £100.

As I write we have another week in which to receive this (or one day when you read Peace News), because we do not close our books for 1953 until January 9. So I know some of you will hasten to respond—and the more the merrier, because we do not mind exceeding our aim!

I want to send my very best thanks to all who have helped to justify the confidence that we should reach £1,000 again this year, and if the large gifts have boosted up the total, it is also true that without the many smaller ones we should not have achieved our aim.

So we are most grateful to you whatever you may have given: and if you have given nothing this year, we want you to share in our joy, and, perhaps, you will be able to help us in 1954.

A very happy New Year to you all.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount in hand ... £894
I ask for not less than ... £6
To claim the final ... £100

and achieve our aim for 1953 ... £1,000

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

From the war in Malaya to Brixton prison THE CASE OF DEREK HOLTON

IN a correspondence in the Methodist Recorder (December 17, 1953) on the subject of conscription, Mr. R. W. Holton writes to give an account of the experience of his son, Derek George Holton, who had served eighteen months in jungle warfare in Malaya as a conscript and is now in prison as a conscientious objector.

He returned to England in October, 1952, and transferred to the Territorial Army. Mr. R. W. Holton writes:

"In June of this year, in a Methodist service, he became convinced that he could no longer serve in the Armed Forces. He immediately informed his Adjutant, who offered him a non-combatant duty. After giving considerable thought to this, my son had to refuse. He then found out that the only course open to him was to refuse to attend the annual camp in August, be court-martialled for so doing, and obtain three months prison sentence. Only then could he ask for his case of conscience to be heard by the Appellate Tribunal . . .

"His Adjutant was informed accordingly. The boy absented himself from the camp, August 15-29. Eventually, on Monday, November 23, three months later, he was court-martialled and was 'granted' his request for three months imprisonment!

"The boy was moved to Brixton Prison the following Friday, the last day for application to be in for the next tribunal on December 14. The boy could not make application until he was in prison, and thus was too late to apply. He must now wait for the next tribunal, which with Christmas (of all festivals) coming between, means toward the end of January. He will then have almost completed his sentence, allowing for remission for good conduct . . .

ARE ARMED FORCES NECESSARY?

—Welsh Nationalists

"We are the only political party that dares to declare that it will not use any other than peaceful means to gain its ends. We dare to do this because we believe that the Sermon on the Mount is the only basis for progress, and even if it takes us longer to achieve what we want to achieve, we will not depart from that principle."

MR. MEREDITH EDWARDS, Welsh cinema and radio actor was speaking at a big London Meeting of Plaid Cymru, the Welsh National Party which advocates Dominion status for Wales.

"We have no drums, we have no uniforms because we don't believe in drums and uniforms. We must seek to capture the imagination of our youth by other means.

"What we fight for is not only the right to conduct our own affairs in our own way," he went on. "We believe that in achieving self-government for Wales we shall be doing the English a good turn; the Government at Westminster is already far over-burdened with the work it has to do. Good government is impossible unless it is decentralised."

"Nearly every constituency in Wales returned a socialist candidate at the last election, but we are obliged to submit to the rule of a Tory Government which does not represent us." Wales wanted the right, Mr. Edwards declared, to be free to make mistakes just as India had asked for and won that right.

Labour gagged MPs

Mr. Wynne Samuel, unsuccessful Parliamentary candidate for Plaid Cymru, said that the Labour Party which up to 1945 had supported a Parliament for Wales had now made a volte-face. They had gagged the Welsh Labour MPs to prevent them from putting their weight behind the present Parliament for Wales campaign.

Many Welsh people outside their party were behind the campaign for a self-governing Wales he said, but they held back because they did not know what to do about defence. They thought it would weaken the position of the Welsh in the present international situation. Wales would have to decide what she would do about that, he went on. She would have to see whether it was necessary to maintain armed forces. Ireland was entirely surrounded by sea yet she did not have a Navy, she did not consider it necessary. Wales would have to decide whether she considered conscription necessary too.

Dealing with this question Mr. Edwards said: "We believe that the Welsh nation has a special contribution to make to help a sick world, and when her birthright is restored to her she will be able to make it. We shall fight for that opportunity, not with weapons, but with the sword of the spirit."

HOW DENVER SENT THEIR GREETINGS

TWO hands breaking a rifle, the famous symbol of world-wide war resistance, are depicted on envelopes bearing Christmas greetings to war resisters in the world's prisons. They have been sent out by the Denver (Colorado USA) group of the War Resisters' League. The envelopes carry this slogan, "Wars will cease when men refuse to fight."

By this means, post-office sorters, postmen and prison officials will be shown that there are people this Christmas suffering for their opposition to war and there are also those who honour them for it.

January 8, 1954, PEACE NEWS—3

EISENHOWER'S ATOM PLAN COULD OPERATE WITHIN 8 MONTHS

—Lilienthal

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S proposals for the peaceful use of atomic energy, outlined in his speech to UN, could be brought into operation within eight months.

This was stated by Mr. David Lilienthal, first Chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission, in a radio talk on December 26, 1953.

There should be an experimental power plant in Belgium and an international atomic research centre in Geneva, both under supervision of an agency of the United Nations.

Independent operation if necessary

Commenting on the President's offer he said:

"After years of exposure to undisguised atomic jingoism, uttered by lesser men, some Russian and some American, this country has at last put its case before the world on the highest level of moral leadership."

He took the view that if the proposed negotiations led to long delays the plan should be put into effect by the Western powers independently. The Russians should be welcomed as full participants if they agreed to join.

The US and Britain had stocks of uranium and plutonium that could be drawn upon. Canada, Belgium and Australia also had uranium; while Brazil and India had thorium, needed for experimentation and some day probably useful for atomic power.

In addition to these, Norway, Holland and France had a supply of radio-active materials for research uses, some of which they could contribute to the pool at once. There was no problem in the provision of scientists and engineers.

If the scheme could be started, he said, it would stand as a living demonstration of the West's desire for peace and not just another point in a "propaganda boxing match."

Problem of human spirit

Mr. Lilienthal's urgent advocacy of this plan recalls the first proposals of the Atomic Energy Commission when he occupied the Chair. It was then urged that the international development of the peaceful side of atomic energy held out the greatest hope of controlling the destructive warmaking side.

A passage from the Report (dated March 16, 1946) reads as follows:

"We are not dealing simply with a military or scientific problem, but with a problem in statecraft and the ways of the human spirit.

"Therefore, the plan must be one that will tend to develop the beneficial possibilities of atomic energy and encourage the growth of fundamental knowledge, stirring the constructive and imaginative impulses of men rather than merely concentrating on the defensive and negative.

"It should, in short, be a plan that looks to the promise of man's future well-being as well as to his security."

Another passage urges:

"Under the most favourable conditions, the peril of atomic warfare can be averted only by drawing upon the best human resources of good will, imagination and ingenuity.

"All experience teaches that these resources cannot be tapped except by challenging opportunities.

"One of the most serious dangers to the promotion of effective international action is the danger that our natural preoccupation with the destructive aspects of atomic energy may blind us to its useful aspects . . . We believe that only a system of safeguards which is built around these hopeful prospects can succeed."

The approach of the Commission along these lines was not, however, to meet with American approval.

Indeed, a very modest proposal that the United States should provide radio-active isotopes—research material having no military significance—to hospitals, research centres and universities of countries all over the world, including Russia, under proper conditions, brought harsh criticism upon those who had approved of it.

For all American readers

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Effect-1; Cause also ran

I WAS never much good at maths, so I've never really grasped the Theory of Relativity. I am therefore quite ready to believe that modern physicists have rejected the Newtonian principle that space and time are invariable, and that it is now impossible to assign any absolute values to the time of an event or the place of its occurrence.

If, therefore, Prof. Einstein were to stop me in the street and tell me that—

"There was a young lady named Flight
Whose speed was much faster than light.
She went out one day
In a Relative way,
And returned on the previous night."

I could only reply, "O.K., brother, if you say so."

As I say, I will accept all this, pending equally authoritative denials. I will even take it for granted that, in favourable circumstances and weather permitting, the cause of an occurrence can follow, instead of precede, its effect.

After all, the late C. L. ("Lewis Carroll") Dodgson was a maths lecturer at Oxford, and he has put it in writing that the White Queen cried before she pricked her finger, instead of afterwards.

Coming down to specific instances, however, I still find it hard to believe that the cause of a modern war can occur after the war has begun.

Yet Vera Brittain—who I admit was at school since I was—seems to think it can. She repeats (Peace News, December 25) Lord Ponsonby's assertion that "Truth is the first casualty in war," as if it were still true.

So does Peace News; for by way of emphasis it publishes a photo of Ponsonby and puts the—to me—astonishing statement underneath as a caption.

Now I can see that it might have been true in Ponsonby's day. Up to and including 1914 you could get the British people to go to war without telling them more than a politician's normal quota of lies first. All you had to do was wave a flag. But you can't do that now, for war is no longer popular.

So you have to kill Truth first.

I doubt if even the German people could have been herded into starting World War Two without years of previous indoctrination by a unanimous controlled Press. It is surely true that the British people would not still be submitting to preparation for a war which they know would wipe most of them out if they had not, for the past eight years, been subjected by means of an almost unanimous Press to the most efficient, false and successful campaign of lies yet known to the Western world including Nazi Germany (about Russia, this time).

And it is equally doubtful whether you could have persuaded even British conscripts to go and help America to destroy Korea had not the USA Government first—I said First—worked a propaganda trick with such slick opportunistic efficiency that Goebbels' ghost must have gone green with envy.

But if Truth has to be killed before a war can start, how can she be the first casualty after it has begun?

There are two possible answers to this logical puzzle. We must rule out the possibility that many pacifists, as well as the pacifist Press, prefer the parrot-like repetition of obsolete and palpably incorrect slogans to the objective examination of current events. Perish that thought.

One answer may be that the preparatory campaign of lies does not quite kill Truth, but only puts her down for a count of nine, leaving her to stagger into the war on crutches.

Quaker Biographies

CORDER CATCHPOOL—This memoir "by his daughter, Jean Greaves, is extraordinarily satisfying... We have the opportunity here of feeling the rare quality of the man himself:... obstinate and dogged in the pursuance of his intense vision of peace among the nations, yet gentle and selfless," *The Friend*.

HOWARD E. COLLIER—Under the title *An Experiment with a Life* a doctor who became a Quaker describes his religious experience against the background of his psychological knowledge... "The great thing about this auto-biographical fragment is its courageous plainness about a remarkable Friend's spiritual pilgrimage..." *The Friend*.

Price 1s. 3d. each: postage on each copy
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and get finally k.o.d. by the first shot. This would place her, technically, in the casualty list.

Another possible answer is that—
These quaint Relativity laws
Must give many pacifists pause;
For they'd never expect
That a great war's effect
Could be some years ahead of its cause.

B. J. BOOTHROYD
Firle, Sussex.

Fit for the common-room?

I AM grateful for Peace News. I appreciate in general the way it keeps the pacifist flag flying and in particular its news service. I always hope that its circulation and influence will increase.

Some of the reasons for its small circulation are beyond the control of those responsible for the paper. But in two ways I believe

that they could do something to improve the situation.

The Kabaka

I think that one reason for its small circulation lies in the fact that, as it seeks to express as concisely as possible the truth as it sees it, PN tends to simplify problems that cannot be simplified; to urge its readers to adopt a point of view without giving them adequate reasons for doing so.

One instance: the present trouble in Uganda. My impression from the front page article in PN the other week was that the cause of the trouble in Uganda lies in the wicked Tory Government being solely concerned to enlarge the Uganda market for British goods; in its determination to achieve East African Federation regardless of the wishes or interests of the Uganda people; in a Colonial Secretary who has no concern for the welfare of the Africans.

But when I turn to The Observer and read the Profile on the Kabaka, I am shown that the issue is more complex; that there is more to it than the question of markets; that the dispute has a long history; and that the Kabaka cannot, at least, have been surprised that he was told he must leave the country; and, incidentally, that he and Mr. Oliver Lyttleton are personal friends.

What PN had to say on the subject may basically be right. But would it not have been wiser and more correct to present the issue in its many sidedness rather than to stress only one side? Would not more people take notice of what it has to say if it did not reach one conclusion quite so quickly?

I suggest that of all papers a pacifist paper should present all sides to a question, leaving its readers free to form their own conclusions, without too much editorial assistance.

I am sure that in the long run it is not direct propaganda of one theme, but the honest presentation of both sides to a question that attracts readers and influences public opinion.

Remembrance week

PN does not always approach its non-pacifist readers with a sympathetic appreciation of their (at present) non-pacifist position. "I sat where they sat." So Ezekiel, exiled with his people, had to be alongside them before he could speak persuasively to them. Is there a lack of sympathetic imagination in PN, as there is in most of us?

One instance: In the Remembrance week issue on the front page I read in blunt dogmatic terms that the last war completely failed to achieve its objects, with the implication that those who fought and died in it wasted their endeavour and sacrifice.

Now that may be true. I believe that basically it is true. But how will the ex-soldier react, in Remembrance week of all weeks, to such a bald unqualified statement? Or the woman whose husband was drowned in the Navy? Or the boy of 17 whose father was killed in the RAF fighting German bombers? Is it likely to convert them to pacifism?

If conversion to pacifism, rather than the strengthening of already held CO convictions, is the end which this and most articles should try to achieve, must not the question of the usefulness or futility of the soldiers' sacrifice be much more sympathetically expressed, and consideration (not acceptance) at least be given to the soldiers' point of view?

In the common-room

My environment these days is the masters' common-room in a boys' school. My colleagues include one present CO and one of the 1939-45 war. Otherwise all those of military age fought in the last war and are ready, if called on, to do so again.

But they are not militarists in the narrow sense; nor are all of them convinced that for Britain to participate in a third world war would necessarily be the lesser of two evils; some of them are open to persuasion. Yet they are not impressed by one-sided propaganda. They are only impressed on any issue by the fair presentation of all sides to the question.

I and the other CO suggested last term that we should add PN to the common-room periodicals. If our suggestion had been adopted, would PN have come to be read each week because, despite its minority point of view, it approaches controversial issues with sympathetic understanding of those who disagree with it, and because it gives a fair presentation of both sides to a question? I am afraid it is unlikely. Yet these are the very people whom it is important to convert.

I have too many friends connected with PN to enjoy saying these things. But is there truth in what I am saying? If so, will it be heeded? PN could yet have a great future, and considerable influence even in 1954.

PATRICK FIGGIS.

25 UPHILL ROAD,
MILL HILL, N.W.7.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS
London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting Peace Committee.

CONFERENCE FOR COs.

Young men (and women too) who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors and would like to discuss the matter, are invited to a one-day Conference to be held at Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2

on Sunday, January 17

commencing at 2.30 p.m.

Speaker: Eric S. Tucker Tea provided

A postcard to Aubrey Brocklehurst, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1 from those hoping to attend would be appreciated (but is not essential).

HOW PICTURES CAN LIE



The Keystone Press Agency's caption to this World War II picture reads: "A queue of Polish men and women waiting to receive food distributed by a German relief organisation in Poland." An American agency issued this photograph in Great Britain, obliterating the relief organisation notice and describing it as a picture of German citizens queueing for food in Germany. Similar fakes have been used by both sides in "cold war" propaganda.

Points from other letters

Too many people

ON Christmas Day, the very day when the world was celebrating the birth of one more baby, Frank Hancock asked in your columns whether there were too many people. Just round the corner, he said, was a family of six or more in two rooms; across the seas, millions go through life hungry. Therefore we must plan our population according to our resources.

Mr. Hancock is lamentably, dangerously, pitifully mistaken. So was the World Pacifist Meeting in India which advocated "conscious control of population increase, of which pacifists should set an example." Is God such a bungler that He makes no provision for His children?

A week later Peace News published a report that a South African, the late Senator Connroy, is estimated to have owned 440 square miles of land, while native Africans are cooped up in "reserves" of poor land.

There is the brief answer to Mr. Hancock and to all who think like him. There is not, never has been nor ever is likely to be any genuine "over-population" but there is in this and every country a very real land problem which is the cause of the "apparent" over-population which, very understandably, worries many people. Solve the land problem and population "difficulties" will solve themselves.

The need for pacifists to do some hard thinking on this question and to examine thoroughly the simple, just and only remedy of any permanent value—the taxation of land values—cannot be over-emphasised.

P. R. STUBBINGS.

340 FINCHLEY ROAD,
CHILDS HILL, N.W.2.

A compelling policy

THE Peace Pledge Union has long felt the need for a compelling policy and a campaign to implement it, as Albert Leaper desires. I feel he might read the *Orchard Lea Papers* again with precisely this idea in mind.

As I understand them they call, first, for a personal turning away from present-day materialistic ideas of what is a good life,

then, promoting community life with fellowship as the basis of its economy, and finally proceeding to carry this spirit and practice abroad in our international relationships.

Our most urgent need, it seems to me, is to do something similar to what Gandhi's Movement in India is doing, namely, to set up teaching centres where those who wish to do so may learn by actual practice, the manner and spirit of the better community living.

RICHARD BLAND.

180 HALLAM ROAD,
NELSON.

Federal Union

MY criticism of Behind the News has drawn some comment from the secretary of Federal Union. I should like to correct a possibly erroneous impression.

Having myself long advocated some form of world government—in relation to international politics—I welcomed the formation of FU in 1938 but withdrew from it when later it adopted the conventional bellicose attitude of the period and supported the idea of rival blocs—"democracies" versus the rest of the world (PN, March 8, 1940, has a reference to this).

To be adequate for eliminating international war—and this is or was the prime purpose of FU—any world control must be all inclusive, and I maintain that in "taking sides" Federal Union was guilty of an inherent contradiction.

Whether it is now prepared to back a NATO bloc versus the USSR I do not know, but the psychology that can find ephemeral enemies in "Germany," "Russia" or any other political Power is not calculated to bring about world peace.

"True universal action" may indeed be a long way off, but that indicates the greater need for the minority who appreciate its necessity to avoid giving adherence to contrary ideas.

Mr. Robinson may well have been puzzled by my allusion to existing world governments; I wrote "governments," but an unfortunate omission omitted the last syllable.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

CHINA REVISITED

Five Stars Over China, by Mary Austin Endicott. Canadian Far Eastern Newsletter, Toronto. \$2.00.

THIS book contains over 200,000 words and a large number of excellent photographs, so the purchaser will be getting a lot for his money.

Its author and her husband were for many years missionaries in an interior province of China, so they have some background against which to assess what they saw and heard, often from old friends, on their recent visit (though at times this has resulted in meaningless comparisons of conditions "now" in other areas with conditions in the past in Szechwan).

The Endicotts admit having been for some years active supporters of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's regime (an attitude never possible to those to whom "Christian General" was a contradiction in terms) but not so long before the triumph of the new regime switched to an equally uncritical enthusiasm for the present rulers and their ways. The book covers all the usual topics.

It is probably unrealistic to expect a thoroughly objective, impartial and knowledgeable account of contemporary China for years to come. In the meantime we are not likely to get any book better informed or more reliable than this, though it includes its modicum of sheer nonsense.

L. TOMKINSON.

Talking of books . . .

By Robert Greacen

A Hundred Years of War, by Cyril Falls (Duckworth, 30s).
The Grace of Forgetting, by Geoffrey Winthrop Young (Country Life, 21s).
The Politics of Repentance, by André Trocmé (Fellowship Publications, New York, 15s).
Sardar Vallabhai Patel, Vol. I, by N. D. Parikh (Navajivan, 12s).
The Diary of Mahadev Desai, Vol. I (Navajivan, 10s).
Towards New Education, by M. K. Gandhi (Navajivan, 2s. 6d).
Emily Brontë, by Muriel Spark and Derek Stanford (Peter Owen, 18s).

MR. CYRIL FALLS, formerly

Chichele Professor of the History of War at Oxford, lucidly surveys all the major and minor wars from 1850 to 1950.

He keeps as much as possible to the purely military aspects; but he occasionally breaks away from strategy and tactics for a political or even moral comment. It is evident that a lifetime's study of the history of war has caused Mr. Falls to think about the ethical and philosophical implications of his subject. No pacifist, he writes in one place:

war is a natural and ingrained activity of the human race.

But on the other hand he can view the present situation in these terms:

war today represents a more deadly menace to mankind and its civilisation than it was a century ago. Then, civilisation could absorb periodical warfare without suffering serious damage. Whether it can absorb periodical large-scale warfare now must be a matter of doubt.

One may hope that this eminent historian's words will not fall on stony ground at Sandhurst and other such academies.

War correspondent

Mr. Geoffrey Winthrop Young, perhaps best-known as a mountaineer and a pioneer of rock-climbing in Britain, tells us in his absorbing autobiography, *THE GRACE OF FORGETTING*, of his many and varied experiences. Born in 1876, an upper-middle-class childhood was followed by adventurous journeys in young manhood to Greece and Asiatic Turkey. Beginning as a war correspondent in the first World War, he later organised the Friends Ambulance Unit, worked through the seige and destruction of Ypres, and the struggle of Caporetto on the Italian Front.

The writer speaks of the military reluctance to use the services of the FAU except when their own medical resources were exposed as hopelessly inadequate during battle emergencies. "We had adopted for our motto," he says, "Find the work that want's doing; do it; regularise it later if you can!" *THE GRACE OF FORGETTING*, excellently written, humane, entertaining, shows once again how the golden Edwardian age suddenly stopped in 1914.

André Trocmé, author of *THE POLITICS OF REPENTANCE*, is one of the outstanding French pacifists; just now he serves as the European Secretary of the International



ANDRÉ TROCMÉ
More and more COs

Fellowship of Reconciliation. His book, based on a series of lectures in the US in 1951, accuses the Christian Churches in Europe of having forsaken their work of true witness to Christ's doctrine simply to gain the support of the secular state.

He writes passionately, yet retains the French ability for logical analysis and exposition. War, he maintains, always un-Christian, has now become "absurd"; yet the Churches in the main cling to the old discredited clichés that deny Christ. Like many others, he sees Jesus, deserted by his Church, climbing the road to Calvary alone.

Trocmé affirms that:

Courts condemn, throw into prison and, under totalitarian rule, deport, execute and behead. It makes no difference: there are always conscientious objectors, and there will always be more and more of them, because any other attitude is absurd.

Mr. Parikh outlines the life of Sardar Patel (in the volume of that name) up to the 1930s. One of Gandhi's intimates, Sardar Patel played a prominent part in the Indian struggle for self-government.

Mahadev Desai, who became Gandhi's secretary in 1917, kept a diary throughout 1932 when he and Patel were Gandhi's companions in Yeravda prison.

This affectionate picture of the Mahatma ("Great Soul") reveals the daily background of a dedicated life, a life freed from the normal worldly attachments by a supreme effort of will. Brushing up his Urdu, writing endless letters to sympathisers and others, reading, spinning, going for long walks, meditating—Gandhi's prison life was full, creative and joyful.

Begin with children

TOWARDS NEW EDUCATION brings together Gandhi's writings and speeches from 1937 onwards, and deals with his theory of "Basic Education" intended for the Indian child between his seventh and fourteenth year. Gandhi wrote to Madame Montessori:

You have very truly remarked that if we are to reach real peace in this world and if we are to carry on a real war against war, we shall have to begin with children . . .

Lastly, an exploration of the life and work of Emily Brontë, by Muriel Spark and Derek Stanford, two of the most interesting of the younger critics. They succeed in bringing into focus for the general reader one of the most elusive of our great writers.

H. J. WILSON

By Wallace Hancock

HEAVEN will probably be overcrowded with Wilsons, because in the realms of idealism the name is as common as are the Smiths in this mundane world.

The idealist president of USA, the great explorer of the Antarctic, leading pacifists, great theologians, prominent spiritual healers—Wilson are everywhere. We are not surprised to see the biography of another "H. J. Wilson: Fighter for Freedom" (by Mosa Anderson, James Clarke, 6s).

This book is a thriller, not in the modern sense of the word, but in the truer meaning that it thrills all those who believe in this struggle towards the "one far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

Rebel

H. J. Wilson is probably little known to this generation: he just missed his place among the first rank of the politicians of the turn of the century, perhaps because he was too modest, perhaps because he was too much of a rebel.

He fought state regulation of prostitution, the drink evil, the suppression of Ireland, the Opium traffic, the South African War, rearmament and hosts of other evils.

These great Radicals and pioneers of the social revolution still stand head and shoulders above the "left-wingers" of today. They fearlessly and in face of unpopularity and persecution "nailed their colours to the mast," in a way which distinguishes them from the stature of those who merely nail their colours to free medical prescriptions and the frills of the Welfare State. The battles upon which they first joined issue have now, to a great extent, been fought and won and the present generation of reformers do not appear to see clearly "where to go from here."

No pledges

H. J. W. had a leaning to the Quakers and was a great Christian—or I suppose he was. But his utterances would have gravely shocked many church-goers today.

He says:

If casting oneself out from family and party and professional status, for conscience and honesty; if sympathy with whatever is pure and honest and lovely and of good report; if abstinence for example's sake from drink, and spending money and time and strength to make men happier and wiser and better; if these are the fruits by which the tree is to be judged, then Maxie, Cox and . . . many more are not far from the Kingdom of Heaven. How much nearer than wine-bibbing professors of religion who won't stir a finger to stop drunkenness or State harlotry or slavery."

And he would have shocked some pacifist politicians:

In his relationship with his constituents, H. J. W. insisted that he was their representative in Parliament, not a mere delegate who must follow instructions. He declined to give "pledges" regarding his actions and maintained that his constituents should accept him for himself and his principles."

One very useful service that this biography performs is to show the ancestry and background of the present generation of Wilsons, so well known throughout the Society of Friends and who have so many admirers for their own devotion and service to the causes for which H. J. W. fought so intrepidly.

What price heredity!

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. First and Third Sunday in each month.

New address

29 Addison Ave., London W.11
(Near Holland Park Stn.)

Peace News Prospects for 1954

PEACE NEWS readers face 1954 with higher hopes than were justified by the prospects twelve months ago. Below the churlish oratory and ceaseless jostle for power there can be discerned a disposition to lessen the tension between the major blocs.

In this situation there is a need for unceasing efforts by peacemakers to increase belief in conciliation, and to propound practical ways of speeding the trend to better relations.

Peace News commences 1954 in a stronger position to support and encourage this kind of work. 1953 saw a development of outstanding importance for the paper's future: the opening by American Friends Service Committee of our US Sales and Distribution Office. Progress in a few months has been well up to expectations, and much greater advance is expected with the commencement this week of the Air Mail Edition. By halving the cost of flying Peace News to all parts of the world we anticipate developing bulk circulations where only individual subscribers have existed up to now. Details of new rates and arrangements will appear next week.

In Great Britain and elsewhere the increasing concern about colonial policies and aid to the deprived areas of the world shows an encouraging grasp of the essentials of peace-making. This widespread sympathy for the work of practical reconciliation advocated by pacifists and their friends gives us a great opportunity for driving home its implications in terms of home and foreign policy.

Here then is the special responsibility of Peace News readers. They represent the conscience of Britain, that small voice within the country which is, nevertheless, the pointer and guide to its future. And as the paper circulates more widely all round the world, through the unstinted devotion and labour of its readers, we believe it may speak for the conscience of the world.

The everyday job of selling the paper, commanding it wherever you can, distributing extra copies, gaining, one by one, the support of all who believe in the future, is our task for 1954. The voice of conscience must out speak the voice of fear. We look forward to working actively with you for the promotion of peace during 1954.

H. F. M.

Circulation last week, 10,900 copies.

TRIBUNE

Socialist—Independent—Fearless

The new weekly, Fourpenny, Tribune brings you open discussion of the issues facing the Labour Movement, factual accounts of the impact of a Tory Government on ordinary people and the real facts about what is happening abroad. The Editorial Board are Jennie Lee, Michael Foot, Ian Mikardo and J. P. W. Mallalieu. Help to keep this independent socialist newspaper going, by ordering now.

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DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

ABBREVIATIONS: Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, APP; Fellowship of Reconciliation, FoR; Methodist Peace Fellowship, MPF; National Peace Council, NPC; Peace with China Council, PWC; Peace Pledge Union, PPU; Society of Friends, SoF.

Saturday, January 9

GLASGOW, C.I.: 3 p.m.; Community H.Q., 214 Clyde St. Discussion forum. Church of Scotland Peace Soc., FoR.

LONDON, W.C.2: 4.30 p.m.; Westminster Friends' Mtg. Ho. New Year Party of London Area Peace Pledge Union. Do come and bring all your Group with you. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Business meeting. M.L. on Race Problems. Visitors welcome. Religion Commission PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-6 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., PPU Social Order Commission.

CROSBY, LIVERPOOL: 7.45 p.m.; Social Evening held at home of Mrs. Fairhurst, 2a Courtney Rd., Waterloo. PPU.

Tuesday, January 12

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air meeting. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

Wednesday, January 13

WOLVERHAMPTON: 7.30 p.m.; Central Library, Snow Hill. Victor Yates, MP, "Peace and the American Scene." Wolverhampton Peace Council.

Thursday, January 14

CAMBRIDGE: 8.30 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho. Open meeting. Wilfred Court. "With the IVSP in Italy." FoR.

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CIVIL DEFENCE SCANDAL

From page one

country are in a worse position than London. Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, Manchester have all congested areas with dense populations near the centres and the death roll there might be even heavier than in London.

London prospects

Dealing specifically with London the Report says:

"It is estimated that an atom bomb bursting over Central London at night would produce at least 30,000 deaths even though all the population were in houses and buildings and thus protected from heat flash."

"A day-time attack on London without warning might produce a further 10,000 casualties from flash burn."

"An equal or greater problem than casualties is the problem of the homeless after atomic attack. It is estimated that between 50,000 and 100,000 homeless persons would result from the dropping of a single atomic bomb on a British city."

"Now these facts are widely known but they have not prevented successive British governments carrying out a rearmament programme and allowing this country to be turned into an American air base which, as Sir Winston Churchill has repeatedly warned us, makes us exceptionally liable to heavy counter atom bomb attack."

Why not an Open Country?

If there were any real comprehension of what atomic attack can mean, public opinion would force the Government to declare for a policy of neutrality, making Britain an open country in the same way as Paris became an open city during the last war.

Paris was occupied by the Germans but it was not bombed like Berlin, and anyone who has seen the two cities must agree that in the long run it is better to be occupied than to be bombed.

And this applies especially to big cities now that the atom bomb has arrived.

If the Government did take a realistic view of what a new atom war would be like, it would know that the people of this country would be safer if we scrapped the rearmament programme and asked that the American airmen be withdrawn tomorrow.

But the Government has decided to take the risk of what may happen. This being so they have grave responsibilities for providing the civil population with some kind of protection.

Hopeless failure

The Select Committee's Report shows how hopelessly and completely the Government is failing to do this.

It is prepared to spend enormous sums on preparations to attack other countries, cities and towns but has shirked facing the problem of what is to be done with the people on the Home Front.

Although Parliament has voted huge sums of money it has not been spent—mainly because decisions are not made about what to do next, and also because the Government Departments simply do not know what to do.

Here are some quotations from the Report:

Paragraph 19: "It will be noted that the sum of £58 million, voted for two out of the three years covered by the defence programme, represents only 26 per cent. of the planned expenditure of £225 million, so that it is all the more disquieting to note that even so Departments overestimated their expenditure during those two years by 75 per cent."

"The figures show that little attention has been devoted to the Civil Defence plan."

Paragraph 20: "Such plans as they had were destroyed by the successive budgetary reductions and policy decisions regarding expenditure on equipment and capital works."

"It might be argued that the Civil Defence plan was also upset by the reassessments of the problem, but the Service Departments would appear to have overcome similar difficulties."

So priority has been given to the Service Departments! The vested interests entrenched there are far more powerful in the Government and in Parliament.

The actual safety of the people of Britain is being sacrificed to the demands of the Service chiefs.

Note this in Paragraph 22:

"Nothing has been spent in four years on either the railways, or the electricity and gas industries and only minute sums on shipping, water supplies, sewerage and sewage disposal."

As for shelters we are told in Paragraph 25:

"The London County Council has been appealing to the Home Office to give a decision on the question of new shelters and

more concerned in spending money exploding atom bombs in Australia and developing the Woomera rocket range than in providing shelters for the people of London.

Of course Mr. Harold Macmillan who is desperately anxious to get more houses built, might object to proposals which involve housing London's population underground rather than above ground.

So would a Labour Minister. The Select Committee has certainly shown the Civil Defence Plans of the Government to be haywire.

What is the House of Commons going to do about it?

The sermon at St. Paul's

Do not think that it is our Christian duty to urge the one-sided disarmament which pacifists would advocate. It would be reckless folly to cast down our defences unless we had ample reason to be sure that we should not be attacked.

—The Dean of St. Paul's, Christmas Day Sermon.

It is not that Christianity has been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and never been tried.

—G. K. Chesterton.

ON Christmas Day, according to an eye-witness, St. Paul's Cathedral was full; this means that at least 1,000 people heard Dr. Matthews' sermon, and moreover the Press reported his words fully in the Sunday newspapers.

It was surely a great opportunity to remind the people of the meaning of Christendom's

commemoration of the day a Child was born, who had come to earth to preach peace and goodwill towards men.

★

It seems strange to choose such an occasion to repudiate pacifism from one of the most important pulpits in this country, and, in effect, to condemn one-sided peaceful action as being no part of a Christian's duty. Yet it would be difficult to argue, for instance, that turning "the other cheek" was not a one-sided gesture of pacification!

But today the very words of peace have lost their meaning, and to "appease" or to "pacify" are terms that have become synonymous not with goodwill and charitableness, but with cowardice and faintheartedness. Yet the fear which lies at the root of Dr. Matthews' denunciation of unilateral disarmament is the very emotion which leads, not to peace, but to war.

If we are to wait until we have "ample reason to be sure" that we shall not be attacked, it would seem natural to suppose that we should have to wait until Russia also is satisfied on that count!

★

As I pointed out recently in this column, Russia has little reason, after the use of the atom bomb without consultation at a time when she was a close military ally, to believe the constant assertion that Western arms are for defence only. In fact they don't trust us not to attack any more than we, apparently, trust them.

If it were possible to ask the Dean what act, or acts, he would think necessary, to assure him that there was no danger of attack, he would probably reply: "if Russia were to disarm," for disarmament would surely be the only positive proof. "One-sided disarmament" in fact, so long as it is not undertaken by this country!

No it is of course quite clear that Russia has no intention of making any such gesture, and it is a tragic inconsistency that Christians should expect from a nation which they condemn as "anti-Christ" a deed of peace that they will not undertake themselves.

★

"Whosoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" is preached in the churches of Christendom, but not practised in the affairs of the nations. Pacifists, from whom Dr. Matthews has publicly dissociated himself, believe that Christians should have the courage and the faith to practise the Christian doctrine, and there can be no doubt that if they did, it would be found to be the same as practising pacifism.

The fear implicit in Dr. Matthews' remarks on the "reckless folly" of disarmament, is based on the belief that to disarm is to show weakness and confuses thereby, military weakness with moral weakness; whereas military weakness, if deliberate, would be an indication of great moral strength.

He fails to see that Russia also fears military weakness, since the atom and hydrogen bombs, atomic rockets, jets and napalm of the Western world appear as a tremendous and coercive threat on the other side of the Iron Curtain. These fearful weapons are the tangible proof of the Western Powers' belief in "negotiation from strength," which is, after all, only another way of expressing that word "coercion."

★

There is only one answer to the deadlock that has arisen through the race in armaments, and that is "one-sided" action. If ever there was an opportunity to advocate, and to practise, the principles laid down in the Sermon on the Mount it would seem that this, and no other, was the moment.

Because, however, the leaders of the Christian Church have failed to understand this, is no reason for pacifists to falter in their faith, for it is based, not upon the shifting sands of expediency but upon the invincible rock of reason and principle.

Britain and the Commonwealth

I. REARMAMENT v. DEVELOPMENT

By Francis Rona, M.Sc (Econ.)

BRITAIN'S production and external trade are seriously handicapped by the heavy burden of rearmament which swallows up about 14 per cent. of the nation's output.

The production index for manufacturing industries declined by 6 per cent. in 1952 and has now just reached the 1951 level. The volume of exports fell by 6.3 per cent. in 1952 and is still 5 per cent. less than in 1951. (Cf. Statist. Office, "Economic Trends," November, 1953, p. 14.)

The "Economic Survey 1953" stated that "Defence took nearly 12½ per cent. of the total supplies of metal products in 1952" (in 1951: 8 per cent.). Moreover, the United Kingdom has become the "arms shop" of Western Europe. The Survey 1952 (p. 21) explained:

"The UK's rearmament programme is a major contribution to the defence of the free world. Roughly half of all military equipment at present being produced in Western Europe comes from British factories."

No wonder that Britain's non-military exports suffer from loss of markets and Commonwealth development is hampered. The Treasury's "Bulletin for Industry" in December stated that the main industries (steel, textiles, coal) showed better results in 1953, but "abroad the picture is less encouraging."

Engineering exports particularly are declining and are from 3 to 4 per cent. below the 1952 average.

GERMANY BENEFITS

Meanwhile German exports have gained much advantage over Britain in Western Europe, Mediterranean and Latin American countries, because Germany does not waste much of her resources on military production.

It is astonishing that neither Conservative nor Labour leaders seem to notice that even the USA and France will cut expenditure on arms in 1954, whereas Britain is increasing it. Does Mr. Attlee still believe that the arms burden is the "price of peace"?

Is the following statement by the former Premier (House of Commons, January 29, 1951) still Labour's policy?

"The industries which will have to carry most of the increased defence orders, the engineering and metal-using industries, have to make the biggest contribution to exports."

"This increased defence programme . . . will inevitably reduce exports."

"I make no attempt to deny that it must affect our standard of living: we shall have to make some sacrifices in the face of rising prices . . ."

Mr. Emrys Hughes, MP, said on the same day:

"Does not the Prime Minister (Mr. Attlee) realise that what is needed today is a new diplomatic initiative which will end the arms race, a race which will bring us near ruin and reduce the living standards of the people?"

Will Mr. Attlee now urge Mr. Butler to cut the cost of "defence" in the April Budget?

CUT COST OF ARMS—NOT REAL WAGES

In recent years, economic "sacrifices" for rearmament have led to repeated cuts in food subsidies (introduced by Mr. Gaitskell), and to a rising cost of living which reduced real wages.

Serious wage disputes would not have occurred if the economic blunder of rapid rearmament had not been forced through, supported by a panicky propaganda on "Russian aggression." In the present period of recession the maintenance of real wages (undiminished spending power) is essential. Today the railwaymen and engineers cannot be blamed for defending their living standards.

It is illogical to argue that any wage increase for engineers will make British exports too dear for world markets, while at the same time we divert one-eighth of the nation's resources to rearmament. The Economic Survey 1952 (Cmnd. 8509, p. 9) made that fact clear when it explained: "The result was that we could not sell enough of the things we could supply and we could not supply enough of the things we could sell."

What is the TUC's "expert advice" on foreign competition?

Sir Vincent Tewson, Secretary of the TUC, suggested the compulsory rearmament of Germany and Japan as a solution (Daily Herald, April 26, 1952). He argued that "if they were

not forced to rearm to defend Western civilisation they would have an unfair advantage in world markets" (our italics).

Those unions in Britain which are not swayed by bloc votes should put such "expert advice" where it belongs—in the waste paper basket, and set up their own independent economic research committees.

The reasonable economic solution is to export more useful goods and less weapons thus sustaining the spending power of the workers.

CRACKS IN COMMONWEALTH ECONOMY

The Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers due to open in Sydney today, has the uneasy task of co-ordinating economic development in the Sterling Area (i.e., without Canada, which is in the Dollar Area, but with India and Ceylon) under the impact of US recession.

The arms drive not only frustrated the export drive but also diminished, if not killed, the hopes for any substantial improvement of living standards in the Asian Dominions.

Commenting on the Report of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) on December 29, which expressed doubts about expansion of British exports in 1954, The Financial Times pointed out the decline in British industrial investment, and its effect upon Commonwealth development.

"It is startling to find that the proportion of the British gross national product devoted to the maintenance and extension of industrial plant is less than it is in several European countries."

"On the face of it, this hardly seems to be the country to indulge in schemes for an expansion of overseas investment at the moment" (our italics).

While about 500 million people receive only £42m. annually through the "Colombo Plan," Britain is to spend over £1,640m. for "defence" in 1953-54. Moreover, the costly Colonial wars must be financed; the Treasury gave £6m. "aid" to Malaya on November 26, 1953, to fight "Communist terrorists" and £6m. to Kenya on December 10.

The South-East Asian Dominions are overpopulated and must develop their economies to prevent a fall in living standards. Their export earnings in 1952 declined by 20-30 per cent. (see Table), because of the fall in raw material prices. Rubber exports to the Dollar Area, for example, were worth £165m. in 1951 and only £71m. in 1952.

Every Commonwealth country, except Canada, had a decline in exports and a considerable trade deficit in 1952. The US recession in 1954 will aggravate the position and lead to further contraction of trade. Britain cannot supply "Colombo countries" with required equipment (Germany is building a steel plant in India) and the reduced purchasing power of agricultural countries results in smaller purchases of British goods.

The Labour Party, still supporting rearmament, has no development policy for the Commonwealth, including the underdeveloped—and undernourished—countries. Is it reasonable to aim at a dubious military "strength" if its price is economic weakness?

CONTRACTION OF

Commonwealth
TOTAL
Equivalent
in £ Sterling
million

1950 IMPORTS 6,438 2,608

EXPORTS 6,313 2,256

Surplus or Deficit -125 -352

1951 IMPORTS 9,333 3,904

EXPORTS 8,131 2,707

Surplus or Deficit -1,202 -1,197

1952 IMPORTS 8,797 3,481

EXPORTS 7,657 2,693

Surplus or Deficit -1,140 -788

COMMONWEALTH TRADE, 1952

India
Popul.
367
million

Canada
Popul.
14.4
million

Other
Domin.
& South
Rhodesia

Colonies &
Dependent
Terra, 70
million

410 1,042 1,273 1,105

421 1,041 1,327 1,268

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642 1,386 1,843 1,558